

Peace News

The International Pacifist Weekly

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ADMIRALS AND FIELD - MARSHAL HEAR KING-HALL

Whitehall gets new view of defence

By GENE SHARP

BRITISH Army and Navy and Air Force officers listened on October 9 to Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall lecturing on "The Alternative to the Nuclear Deterrent: Non-violent Resistance" at the Royal United Services Institution in Whitehall, London. The event may prove to be historic.

The Institution is incorporated by Royal Charter for the promotion and advancement of naval and military science and literature.

Admiral Sir Guy Russell, Commandant of the Imperial Defence College, who expressed the thanks of the audience to the lecturer and chairman (Rear-Admiral Sir Anthony Buzzard) at the close, was one of the former Commanders-in-Chief in the audience. Another was Field-Marshal Auchinleck.

Commander King-Hall began by quoting the Minister of Defence, Mr. Duncan Sandys, that there is no possible defence against nuclear attack.

Thought-barrier

Sir Stephen insisted that he respected but did not share the moral view of pacifists. He had, however, concluded that "orthodox thinking about war, and hence defence is radically wrong."

He was basing his lecture on his recently completed book, "Defence in the Nuclear Age," which is to be published by Victor Gollancz early in the New Year.

Instead of accepting "as gospel certain conventional ideas about war," it was necessary, he continued, to "take a completely fresh look at the whole business." This involved "a mental process of extreme difficulty which I call 'breaking through the thought-barrier.'

Sir Stephen declared that "when we get to a stage in the development of armed force which obliges our Minister of Defence to say that the purpose of our armed force is to protect itself so that it can wipe out our enemy immediately after we are wiped out, we are beginning to live in an Alice in Fission-land world in which means and ends are fused into a new element of meaningless content."

"You can't lose a nuclear war, you can't win it, you can only leave as its memorial a civilisation destroyed."

Unilateral declaration

Then Sir Stephen turned to his alternative. "I think it is worth looking into [the idea] . . . that the UK should make an unilateral declaration that it will make no use of nuclear energy for military purposes." But this idea was not as simple as it might seem.

The US and Canada would probably not agree. "NATO as we know it would be wound up. Obviously we could not have American nuclear forces in Britain."

"NATO could be replaced by ETO," he suggested, "a European Treaty Organisation pledged not to use nuclear energy for military purposes."

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INSIDE: *The Bridge Over the River Kwai*

SATELLITE EMPIRE-OR WORLD UNION?

By Fenner Brockway, MP

THE wisest comment on Russia's satellite moon came from the Indian Prime Minister when he said in Tokyo that technological advance has made military alliances, armament races and current politics out of date.

"We are still thinking in a past age: we must adapt ourselves to the new age."

What it portends

The most foolish comment came from the Chief Scientist of the British Ministry of Supply when he said that the satellite has little bearing on the problems of defence. This fatuous remark was published on the same day as Mr. Khrushchev's summing up. "The age of the bomber is over."

It is not, of course, the satellite itself which is dangerous. It is what it portends. The earth will soon be at the mercy of instruments in space. It will be possible to drop nuclear explosives destructive of millions anywhere with precision. Within a few years it will be possible to trap sun rays a thousand miles from earth and by concentration and direction scorch whole populations to death in a fraction of a second.

That is the depressing picture. Turn the canvas towards the light.

With the successful launching of the satellite, man's sphere has expanded beyond imagination. We are no longer the inhabitants of a planet: we step into a universe. A first small step; but where will a hundred steps take coming generations?

How childish and small our earthly conflicts at this historic moment, how silly the quarrels about this and that in disarmament, the charges and counter-charges between East and West, the little games of

politics! Our thinking and schemings are of a time that has gone.

We talk of imperialism; but this potential power over the whole earth, now grasped by Russia and soon to be challenged by America, makes all the rest of us the subjects and chattels of Moscow and Washington. That was happening before through the military and economic domination of Russia and America; but now it is becoming absolute. The people of Britain are as much at their mercy as the peoples of India and Nigeria.

Voices of the future

I try to look at the satellite through the eyes of a village peasant in Asia or Africa.

He is becoming a political being, becoming conscious of his nation, becoming proud of its emergence to independence, becoming dimly aware of the wider world. He suddenly hears of a man-made moon circling the earth and of rumours of missiles which can speed through space and descend to end life all around.

The thought is devastating for those of us who live in modernised Nation States: but we have some responsibility for the divided world, for the unrelieved tension between East and West which makes these technological advances a menace to all mankind. Our political decisions have brought the human race to the edge of this disaster.

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Misguided Missile

BBC BROADCAST ON DICK SHEPPARD

THE life of Canon "Dick" Sheppard, who founded the Peace Pledge Union, is to be the subject for the BBC's Home Service "The Way of Life" series on Sunday, Oct. 27, from 7.45 p.m. to 8.25 p.m.

The series in which "Dick Sheppard, the Human Parson," is being broadcast is one in which "Christians think about their faith and its living expression."

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THE NEW CLASS

A. J. Muste reviews the book for which Djilas was gaoled

The New Class: An Analysis of the Communist System by Milovan Djilas. London: Thames & Hudson, 21s. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, \$3.95.

THIS book is near the top of the non-fiction best seller list in the US today.

By the time this review reaches the readers of Peace News it may actually top Bernard Baruch's autobiography and the latest "peace of soul" item.

Undoubtedly a considerable part of its popularity here stems from the fact that it is regarded as a weapon against Communism in the cold war and as an attack on Socialism. A weapon against Communism in its contemporary or, more exactly, Stalinist form it certainly is, though not the kind to lend itself readily to use as pro-Western propaganda. A tract against Socialism it very definitely is not. Says Djilas in his preface:

"As I became increasingly estranged from the reality of contemporary Communism, I came closer to the idea of democratic Socialism."

Partisan hero

For some readers it may be well to recall that the author is a Yugoslav who was a militant student leader in his twenties, a partisan hero in the Yugoslav struggle against the Nazis in World War II, who became Vice-President of his nation under the régime of his close personal friend Tito. In 1954 he was deposed from his post and expelled from the Communist Party after having appealed for democratisation of the régime, not only in Yugoslavia but in such organs as the New York Times.

He was serving a three-year term of hard labour in Mitrovica prison, the same one in which he was jailed by reactionaries in his youth. The manuscript of "The New Class" was mysteriously smuggled out of Yugoslavia, and Djilas has received an additional seven years' sentence for this act.

The book deserves a wide public, and is indeed "must" reading for all who want to understand the contemporary world. The author is not merely a brilliant writer but an actor in the political scene, and his book is one of those whose publication constitutes a political act, which leave its mark on events.

Especially perhaps for those who have read the book themselves it is necessary to observe that it covers an immense amount of territory dealing with political, economic, ethical and cultural aspects of Communism and with world politics. Necessarily, therefore, there is much that cannot be touched upon even in a fairly lengthy review. Since the first essential is to convey an idea of the author's thinking, I shall concentrate on that rather than on critical comment of my own.

★

THE primacy of matter and the reality of change, says the author in a chapter on "Origins," are the basic ideas of Communism. In other words, dialectics and materialism.

The idea that we have here laws governing society that are unchangeable and independent of human beings, he rejects. "Human society cannot be compared to species of animals or of inanimate objects."

Marx was a scientist rather than a philosopher. Nevertheless, in the ideas of Marx may be found the origins of "the pretensions of modern Communism of being, if not the unique and absolute . . . the highest science"; pretensions in which are hidden the seeds of its despotism. It was others, including Lenin, who used Marxist ideas as an ideology rather than a science, for reasons which we shall presently relate.

Contemporary Communism, to be understood, must be seen as a phenomenon which occurred in under-developed countries, especially Russia. Since "no society or nation allows production to lag to such an extent that its existence is threatened," these countries had to solve the problem of industrialisation. A party which was to lead in the transition into an industrial society in

Russia, e.g., had to be "anti-capitalistic in its internal policy and anti-imperialistic in its foreign policy. Internally, domestic capital was weak, and was largely an instrument or affiliate of foreign capital."

Djilas holds therefore that the rivals of the Bolsheviks in 1917 were wrong—the Social Revolutionaries in wanting to return to "idyllic primitive peasant life" and the Mensheviks in wanting to go no further than overthrowing the barriers to capitalist development, *after* which Socialism could be established:

"Neither solution was capable, under the given international and industrial conditions, of resolving the urgent problem of industrial revolution."

But this entailed awful consequences. In other revolutionary periods the beginnings of a new order already existed: e.g. once the feudal obstacles to the development of capitalism had been removed in the English and French Revolutions, the new society could unfold. But in the underdeveloped countries there were no beginnings of Socialism, only small beginnings even of capital:

"No revolution or party had ever before set itself to the task of building social relationships or a new society. But this was the primary objective of the Communist revolution."

Cult of violence

One consequence, Djilas continues, was that, whereas, in earlier revolutions force and violence became a hindrance and were discarded as soon as the old order had been overthrown, "in Communist revolutions force and violence are a condition for further development and even progress." Thus they become a cult and an ultimate goal and not merely a temporary "necessary evil."

Because of the problem confronting it of actually building, as it were, out of nothing a Socialist order, the Party could not tolerate rivals. It had to have an iron discipline. Furthermore, it had to have an absolute faith that it could build and was building a new order. Hence the development of the Marxism of the Bolsheviks into an ideology, a dogma.

The fixed conviction that they alone understood the laws of society was necessary to enable them to undertake the unprecedented task of deliberately constructing a new society and to use whatever means necessary to keep in power, and thus in a position to continue Socialist construction.

In such a context as this, since at the time of the revolution no class existed which had already begun to build a new order, the Party itself became the New Class. Since the bureaucracy governing the country was essentially the same as the Party, ownership (*de facto* though not *de jure*), government and ideology were all in the hands of the New Class, i.e. of an iron dictatorship.

★

DJILAS has much to say about the degenerate character of the resulting Stalinism.

The details no longer need to be rehashed. He seems to think that the Russian Communists hardly had an alternative. They carried out the job of industrialisation "in the only way possible—by imposing their absolute totalitarian authority." Furthermore, he holds that in a sense they accomplished an enormous task, built a huge economic machine and powerful State. This does not diminish his revulsion and moral indignation.

The method of control used by the New

Class "is one of the most shameful pages of history. Men will marvel at the grandiose ventures it accomplished and will be ashamed of the means it used to accomplish them . . . There will be less sorrow over its passing than there was for any other class before it."

This analysis of how and why the degeneration in Communism as practised in Russia came about raises a most perplexing and serious political and ethical problem for all of us, especially for those who are involved in efforts to achieve basic social change. On the one hand, Djilas seems to say that what happened had to be; and it has long seemed to me that any one who understands the conditions under which Communism in Russia operated—including a factor to which Djilas does not devote much attention, viz., the threat from without culminating in the Hitler attack—must conclude that any movement or party which might conceivably have taken the place of the Bolsheviks and sought to implement an alternative solution would not have had an easy task on its hands.

Clearly in view of the outcome, the theory of inevitability cannot be accepted either on economic or political or moral grounds unless we are prepared to condemn ourselves to impotence and despair about political action. Much more thought needs to be given by radicals to what the alternative might have been in Russia and can



A. J. MUSTE

be in similar situations, that have arisen or may arise in the future. In this connection the relevance of non-violent revolutionary action requires serious attention.

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WHAT is Djilas' evaluation of the changes which have taken place since the death of Stalin?

The New Class, having achieved industrialisation, no longer has a function, except to "strengthen its brute force and pillage the people—its spiritual heritage is overtaken by darkness. . . . It has condemned itself to failure and shameful ruin."

Yet one does not gather from his discussion of current developments that the achievements of which he speaks will be undone or that he believes no changes of a basic character can take place in the régime, even among some of its leaders, not to mention members.

Split in the class

The situation now, as he paints it, is truly dialectical. The very fact that the ruling class has had to expose and disown Stalin will force it to any means to maintain its shaken hold; but "every time it does resort to them, it will also have to condemn their use . . . The class has begun to split into factions . . . Below the top, in the depths, and even in the ranks, new thoughts, new ideas, are bubbling and future storms are brewing." He warns against underestimating as well as overestimating the innovations which have already taken place in Russia and elsewhere.

Djilas has some very important material about how Communist authoritarianism rigidity, and attempts to develop economic autarchy—despite all he has said about economic achievements—now cost the

Nothing so well reveals the reality and greatness of ends as the methods used to attain them.—Milovan Djilas.

nation tremendous wealth and put a brake on its development: "The moment is approaching when industrialisation, which first made Communism inevitable, will through further development make the Communist form of government and ownership superfluous."

★

BUT perhaps of most importance to readers of Peace News is what he has to say about indestructibility of personality and the problem of ends and means as factors in the contemporary ferment in Communist ranks, and with this I conclude.

In an unreconstructed Communist state or movement the development of human personality is, of course, only "an abstract ideal." But the attempt at suppression and all the rest "does not mean that the human personality has disappeared or that it has been changed into a dull, impersonal cog, which rotates in a large impersonal State mechanism. . . . Personality, by its own nature, both collective and individual, is indestructible even under the Communist system." That this has been demonstrated in recent years in many ways is one of the most heartening things that has happened in our time. Djilas himself is, of course, a shining instance of the fact that personality, even in Communist leaders, may prove indestructible.

Means and ends

Finally, in renouncing Stalin's brutal methods, Djilas suggests, the Soviet ruling class cannot but "plant the seed of doubt about their goals." If you renounce the use of means which your ends were supposed to justify, what can be said about ends which were put to such use?

Then he gives one of the clearest and profoundest statements on the relation of means and ends that I have ever encountered:

"As soon as means which would ensure an end are shown to be evil, the end will show itself as unrealisable. For the essential thing in every policy is first of all the means, assuming that all means appear good, . . . Nothing so well reveals the reality and greatness of ends as the methods used to attain them. . . . That which really blesses the end, which justifies the efforts and sacrifices for it, is the means: their constant perfection, humanness, increasing freedom."

These sentences from the pen of one who was but yesterday a leading Communist echo hauntingly the famous soliloquy on ends and means in Kierkegaard's "Purity of Head Is to Will One Thing!"

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The case for Britain stopping H-bomb manufacture and tests

MUTINY AGAINST MADNESS

by KONNI ZILLIACUS, MP

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British artists and sportsmen deplore apartheid

THE AFRICA BUREAU has gained wide support among leading actors, writers, musicians and sportsmen for a manifesto deplored discrimination on the grounds of race, colour or religion.

Amongst the signatories was Lord Aberdare, who was killed in a motor accident on October 5.

The manifesto reads:

"We, the undersigned, drawn from the fields of art and sport, are dismayed by the danger that is arising in Africa from the theory and practice of apartheid. We believe that the theory is inhuman, and that the practice restricts arbitrarily, even prohibits, the enjoyment and the use of human talent.

"Sport and the arts are concerned with those things mankind has in common. Today, when men increasingly hunger for freedom and unity, we believe that we have a special responsibility to cherish and advance the liberties which have been so hard won through the centuries.

"To impose any form of discrimination on grounds of race, colour or religion is contrary to all we believe and work for. We are determined nowhere to condone it, but to oppose it by every means in our power, and we invite anyone who shares our view to join us in this declaration.

SIGNATORIES

The following is the full list of signatories:

Lord Aberdare, Elizabeth Allan, Jack Allen, Eric Ambler, Dame Peggy Ashcroft, Frederick Ashton, Renée Asherson, Michael Ayrton.

H. E. Bates, Alfie Bass, John Betjeman, Michael Benthall, Harry Blich, Sidney Box, Benjamin Britten, Dr. J. Bronowski, Peter Brook, Ivor Brown, Brenda Bruce, Peter Bull, Alan Bush.

Francis A. C. Cammaerts, Sir Hugh and Lady Casson, Francis Chagrin, Christopher Chataway, Siegfried Charoux, Harriet Cohen, George Cole, G. D. H. Cole, Margaret Cole, Peter Copley.

Ian Dalrymple, Peter Danberry, Johnnie Dankworth, Isabel Dean, Paul Dehn, George Devine, Ruth Dunn, Valentine Dyall.

John Fernald, Robert Flemyng, Christopher Fry, Stella Gibbons, Sir John Gielgud, Marius Goring, Graham Greene.

Lionel Hale, Irene Handl, Pamela Hansford Johnson, Gilbert Harding, Robert Helpmann, Julian Herbig, Trevor Huddleston, R. C. Hutchinson, Dr. Julian Huxley.

Anna Instone, Maurice Jacobson, Augustus John, Louis Kentner, Esmond Knight, Arthur Koestler, Marghanita Laski, Jack Lindsay, Max Lock, Elisabeth Lutgens, Humphrey Lyttelton.

Miles Malleson, Wolf Mankowitz, Ethel Mannin, Roger Manvell, Oliver Messel, Alan Melville, Bernard Miles, Yvonne Mitchell, Gerald Moore, Henry Moore, Clive Morton, Angus Morrison.

Ronald Neame, John Neville, Eric Newton, Joy Parker, Stephen Potter, Raymond W. Postgate, Emery Pressburger.

Ernest Raymond, Michael Redgrave, Roy Rich, Susan Richmond, Flora Robson, Paul Rotha, Humphrey Seale, Paul Scofield, Henry Sherek, Alistair Sim, Michael Soames, Robert Speaight, Stephen Spender, Mary Stocks, L. A. G. Strong, Michael Swan.

A. J. P. Taylor, J. C. Trewin, Michael Truman, Peter Ustinov, Canon A. Vider, Anton Walbrook, Elisabeth Welch, Emyl Williams, Harcourt Williams, Donald Wolfit, Norman Wooland, Basil Wright, Diana Wynyard, and Gladys Young.

European Economic Co-operation No. 5

What is the Free Trade Area?

THE United Kingdom has been unwilling to join the European Common Market, mainly because of its Commonwealth connections and the preferential Commonwealth tariff system. Instead, we have proposed a Free Trade Area, which should include the six Common Market countries and any others which care to join it (probably the UK, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, Austria).

The Free Trade Area would be organised through OEEC. Its members would abolish tariffs and quantitative restrictions of all imports of goods, other than agricultural produce, coming from other member countries; but they would retain their own tariffs towards non-member countries, instead of adopting a common tariff as is intended in the case of the Common Market.

Next week: The Organisation for European Economic Co-operation.

These notes on European Economic Co-operation are taken from No. 2 of *Documents on World Affairs* (United World Education and Research Trust, 29 Great James St., London, W.C.1. 6d.).

ATOMIC ENERGY FOR LIFE AND PROGRESS

From Dr. Francis Rona

"PEOPLE all over the world expect us to relieve them of their great anxiety for the health of future generations," said the President of Austria, Dr. Schaerf, in an address of welcome to the first International Atomic Energy Conference in Vienna on October 1.

"They demand that we shall choose life and progress rather than death and destruction."

As against the ill-fated conference of the UN Disarmament Committee in London, the Vienna conference has started well. All proposals by the Preparatory Commission—which operates no veto—for the programme and procedure were adopted unanimously.

One of the objectives of the International Atomic Energy Agency, as outlined in Article II, states:

"... to enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health and prosperity throughout the world; the assistance provided by it is not to be used in such a way as to further any military purpose."

Peaceful purposes

Article III/2 of the IAEA Statute declares:

It is the function of the Agency "to provide materials, services, equipment and facilities to meet the needs of research on and development and practical application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes—including the production of electric power—with due consideration for the needs of the under-developed areas of the world."

Dr. Paul R. Jolles, Executive Secretary of the Preparatory Commission, stressed the

important change in emphasis from military to peaceful uses of atomic energy.

International co-operation was necessary because of the huge cost of technical development. There were only three installations in the world for large-scale production of fissionable materials: in the USA, the USSR and Britain.

He warned that an international system for safeguarding the disposal of dangerous waste must be established, but made no reference to H-bomb tests.

Successful outcome

Although political clouds gathered when the Credentials Committee accepted Chiang Kai-shek's delegation from Formosa and refused to admit an observer from China the spirit of compromise re-asserted itself with the unanimous election of an American and a Czech to the respective posts of Director-General and Chairman of the Board of Governors.

The first plenary session closed on Monday with a minute of silent prayer and meditation.

The conference will continue for several weeks hammering out rules, contributions of members, budget and staff problems. The 55 delegations of States and seven observers are optimistic and expect a successful outcome to their deliberations.

The USA has contributed 5,000 kilogrammes of Uranium-235 to the Agency (with the promise of more), Portugal 700 kgs. and the UK only 20 kgs. Portugal's offer was regarded as a hopeful indication of other contributions.

I asked the chairman of the US delegation, the Hon. Lewis L. Strauss, whether any political strings were attached to his country's contribution (U-235 is a fissionable concentrate which can be used also for the manufacture of A-bombs).

Mr. Strauss replied that the only condition was that the new Atomic Agency should approve of the usefulness of the projects for which the U-235 was supplied and that the Agency's safety standards and other rules should be accepted.

Harwell man gives new facts on radiation

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

THE current series of nuclear bomb tests are a danger to children yet unborn and are causing mutations, stated Dr. T. C. Carter, the geneticist attached to the Medical Research Council radio-biological unit at Harwell, when he was addressing a meeting of the British Association in Dublin.

"All radiation is dangerous," he said. "Any radiation exposure will produce mutations, and therefore it is no good saying when it will become dangerous. It is already dangerous."

Dr. Carter was asked, "Do you think the tests going on at present are dangerous to the extent that they are causing mutation?"

He replied, "Certainly they are causing mutation. That is absolutely implicit in the fact that fall-out is coming down and is causing some mutation."

He emphasised the fact that he was speaking as a scientist. He was unable to make any social, political, or religious judgment, he said. It was for the man-in-the-street, the voter, to decide whether his side should test the bomb or, in order to reduce radiation risk, forego the testing.

MORE INFORMATION NEEDED

"You are certainly paying a price, and you have to make up your own mind what is the worth of the merchandise you are buying for that price."

Dr. Carter estimated that radio-active luminous watches and clocks, shoe-fitting, and radiology were likely to cause a bigger increase in disease than fall-out if irradiation continued at its present level.

The present total of 250,000 diabetics in Britain may rise by 25,000. Of that number, 250 would be due to watches and clocks, 217 to fall-out, 25 to shoe-fitting and 24,066 to the effects of radiology on patients.

Blindness would increase by 5,300 cases, with 53 due to watches and clocks and 46 to fall-out.

After the meeting Dr. Carter emphasised the need of more information about the genetic effects of radiation. He said some of this would not be available for several years, but he did not think it was being hidden from the public.

October 18, 1957—PEACE NEWS—3

OVER TO US

A FEW years ago I had lunch with a journalist on a London daily and over the meal he told me why he did not support the pacifist point of view, although he was an occasional reader of Peace News.

Today he is a Member of Parliament, a pacifist, and a vigorous supporter of unilateral disarmament. He told me when last we met at the House that he and his wife found Peace News of ever-increasing help to them in their thinking.



Such incidents lighten, if only momentarily, the burden of increased postage rates, telephone charges and bus fares, all of which threaten to cripple our work. It is the Peace News Fund which has kept the paper alive through these inflationary post-war years and must see us through the difficult months ahead as we endeavour to raise

£2,012 by Dec. 31

The tide is turning in our direction as more and more people echo the words of another, non-pacifist, MP, Anthony Greenwood, "It is the pacifists who are the realists today."

Keep up the support for the Peace News Fund. Plan your Bazaar, or other PN Fund effort now.

THE EDITOR

Contributions since Oct. 4: £70 18s. 7d. Total since Jan. 1, 1957: £1457 19s. 3d. Anonymous contributions gratefully acknowledged: Bradford, £1.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

PPU MEMBER FOR WELFARE COUNCIL

T. GEOFFREY AYRE, a West Midlands Quaker and member of the Peace Pledge Union, has been appointed Welfare Liaison Officer to the Commonwealth Welfare Council for the West Midlands. He has for many years been engaged in voluntary welfare work among West Indian immigrants.

Bremen War Resisters appeal

against tribunal decision

By HILDA VON KLENZE

A NOTHER case of a member of the new German Army applying for recognition as conscientious objector is that of Horst Blome, 20, of Bremen. (Peace News last week described the case of Claus Pomrehn, a German soldier who became a CO.) At first he was merely opposed to conscription as such, and anticipating his call-up enlisted voluntarily in September last year.

His experience of military service and discussions with his comrades made him realise that he had a conscientious objection to the carrying of arms and to participating in war. Somewhat misled by the slogan now current in West Germany that the soldier is nothing more or less than a "citizen in uniform," he tendered his resignation as from April 30, 1957.

ARRESTED AND SENTENCED

When it was explained to him that he would have to serve his twelve months like any conscript, he decided to claim the right of conscientious objection, stating in his application that his conscience would not

allow him to kill human beings or otherwise take part in war.

About a month later he tried to leave the barracks without permission, was arrested and sentenced to four weeks' juvenile detention.

DECISION PENDING

He was nevertheless recognised as a conscientious objector by the tribunal, but the army appealed against this decision, and the appeal tribunal reversed the previous decision on the ground that Horst Blome's application was not the expression of a genuine conscientious objection but the result of his desire to be rid of military service which he regarded as inconvenient and useless.

The next step was taken by the Bremen Area of the German Section of the War Resisters' International, who on behalf of Horst Blome started proceedings against the Federal Republic in order to get him recognised as a conscientious objector. They were not successful in the first instance, but an appeal against this latter decision is now pending.

A new feature in Peace News

RELIGIOUS FLASHPOINT

The Central Committee of the World Council of Churches has at last reached the point when it is asking questions concerning the morality of H-bombs and their testing. In a recent statement it asks "whether any nation is justified in deciding on its own responsibility to conduct tests when the people of other nations may have to bear the consequences?" This suggests that the Council may think that testing H-bombs is immoral, but it merely recommends that this wrongdoing should be foregone "for a trial period, either together or individually, in the hope that others may do the

same." If a thing is wrong, why forego for a trial period?

Some pacifists think the above statement is an excellent statement. Do you agree? Very many secular organisations have gone very much further than the Christian Church in this matter.

The British Council of Churches has never yet expressed an adverse opinion on the dropping of the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The latest statement on this matter said some of the Church representatives felt "that they were not yet sufficiently in possession of all the facts."

Is this timidity consistent with the Christian Gospel?

Literature from Wallace Hancock, Secretary, Movement for a Pacifist Church, 8 Barclay Oval, Woodford Wells, Essex.

The Letter

NO words need be wasted on the fact that Mr. Khrushchov's letter to Mr. Gaitskell was highly incorrect in the diplomatic procedure.

The really important factor in the situation is what is happening on the Turco-Syrian border, and of that no ordinary person in the West can have any trustworthy knowledge.

As usual in such cases, accusation is followed by counter-accusation, and what people believe depends almost wholly on what they want to believe.

But the basic facts are clear. The Eisenhower Doctrine and the Baghdad Pact are bound to be looked upon by Russia as aggressive thrusts against her security, which it would be madness for her not to endeavour to neutralise.

The Eisenhower Doctrine in particular, substituting the influence of the powerful US to the waning influence of a no longer so powerful Britain, makes matters worse in Russian eyes.

The fact that Mr. Khrushchov's letter to Mr. Gaitskell and the leaders of Socialist parties in other countries is an offence against all respectable methods of dealing between Governments, and that he should have sent his complaint to the Security Council, does not invalidate the truth of much of what he says.

The Middle East has once again become a point of serious danger, and neither the Baghdad Pact nor the Eisenhower Doctrine is a peace promoting factor.

It is high time for a complete change of methods.

"Hunk of iron"

MAN is a staggering creature, capable of stupendous achievement and of appalling fatuity.

The United States Chief of Naval Operations who spoke of the Russian earth satellite as "only a hunk of iron which anyone could launch" struck a note that has found very little echo in America as in the rest of the world.

However simple and undeveloped a contrivance the Russian satellite may be when compared with expected developments, the fact that it is now circling this planet is a striking indication of man's capacity for advance in knowledge and power.

The "Daily Mail," awarding the "hunk of iron" comment a prize for fatuity, went on to say:

"The human race has now reached a stage when it could, if it would, put these rivalries behind it. The adventure into space is something which could release us all from the fearful international problems bequeathed by history."

Our prize would go to some American gentlemen of mature years, whatever may be their mental ages, who have presumably had expensive educations.

One of these, a jurist, has argued that "under international law" Russia would have a claim to the moon if she either hit it with a missile or landed men—"space men"—upon it.

This has been replied to by US Government legal experts who urge that the Russians would have no "solid claim to the moon" unless they occupied it for a long time; and even then they could claim only the occupied part.

We would all be better off if these gentlemen were back in the nursery with their space helmets on.

Space race

IN a correspondence in The Times, arising from a letter from the Dean of Canterbury extolling the Russian educational system as having enabled Russia to be first in producing an artificial earth satellite, a correspondent quotes a comment in the *Journal de Genève*:

"The Russians have launched an artificial satellite, but their trains travel at



30 m.p.h. Why? They encircle the earth but they live four people to a room. Why?"

It is a pertinent comment that may well be more widely applied. For two-thirds of the human race (of whom a large proportion are in the British Commonwealth) the chances are overwhelming, to quote Stringfellow Barr, "that you will be chronically sick all your life . . . you have a two-to-one chance of suffering malnutrition . . . you have only a one in four chance of learning to read . . . you are most likely to live in a mud hut."

There does seem some misdirection of research facilities if we are now to direct them to an international race in making objects circle the earth or even to conquering space.

Suppression of Po Prostu

PO PROSTU ("Plain Speaking"), a Polish students' newspaper, played a brave and honourable part in the troubles

that led to the establishment of Wladyslaw Gomulka as the Polish Communist leader and to his uneasy arrangement with Russia for a strictly limited right of Polish self-government.

Now it has been closed down by the Polish Government.

It has tried to maintain liberty of criticism in Poland, and although Gomulka most likely desires to extend liberty of expression to the Polish people it must inevitably cause trouble for him if it is actually used. Earlier this year Po Prostu exposed a series of thefts of State funds and various embezzlements and pilferings in which members of "the Party" were concerned. Under pressures that sought to compel it to toe the Party line it decided to shut down for two months in the summer.

The very first issue on resumption of publication was confiscated. Students' demonstrations in protest—broken up by police truncheons and tear gas—again point to the awakening of youth to the need for the assertion of human values against the machine.

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A TIME FOR POLITICAL STOCKTAKING

THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE at Brighton has brought to an end the political phenomenon that has been called "Bevanism." This can be all to the good if those who have regarded themselves as Bevanites will now begin to take stock of their position.

The plain fact is that not only very little separates Labour and Conservative policies, but also very little separates the "Left" groups from the two political orthodoxies.

Both accept that there shall be increasing concentration of power in large corporations in one form or another—the framework of the "managerial society"—and both accept that, except for his power to give an increasingly meaningless vote once every five years, which must represent his wishes over the whole vast complexity of issues that govern his conditions, the average man—outside the inner two thousand or so—shall have less and less opportunity of making any impact on the way his life is ordered.

Against these trends there have been strong emotional reactions, and in Mr. Bevan these discontents seemed to have found a voice. If Mr. Bevan's political life is examined, however, it will be found that he has been in full co-operation with the tendencies that are reducing the human person to a helpless cipher, and that it is only his magnificent rhetoric that has given a different impression.

★ ★

THE END OF BEVANISM ought to be the prelude to a new and genuine reorientation in politics.

THERE IS NEED FOR A NEW AND DISTINCTIVE SCHOOL OF POLITICAL THOUGHT, AND WE BELIEVE THAT THE MANY PACIFISTS WHO HAVE ALWAYS BEEN APPREHENSIVE OF THE INCREASING POWER OF THE EXISTING SOCIAL ORDER TO DESTROY THE INDIVIDUAL AND PROHIBIT REAL COMMUNITY CAN PLAY A KEY PART IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SUCH A SCHOOL.

There is a certain common ground that the great majority of pacifists share with the Bevanites: the need for a vigorous policy for the relief and cure of world poverty, and for the bringing of freedom to the peoples whose lives have been dominated by imperialist policies. The difference between them is that the pacifists have always been sufficiently alive to realities to face the fact that these things would never be tackled while the nation was committed to a militaristic "defence" policy.

★ ★

IN LESS OBVIOUS WAYS military defence has conditioned all the orthodox political thinking of the past quarter of a century.

IT IS THE PACIFIST, WHOSE VIEW OF LIFE ATTACHES SUPREME VALUE TO THE HUMAN PERSON AND THE INTEGRITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL, WHO SHOULD BEST BE ABLE TO CO-OPERATE IN THE FORMULATION OF A NEW POLITICS AIMED AT REMEDYING THE ILLS OF THE PRESENT TREND, IN WHICH THE PLACE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IS COMING TO HAVE LESS AND LESS SIGNIFICANCE.

We regard the vitality and courage of student youth in both the Communist and Capitalist worlds as one of the most hopeful signs of the present time.

Greatness in Yugoslavia

MILOVAN DJILAS, whose book "The New Class" is reviewed by A. J. Muste on page two, has received a prison sentence of seven years for having been successful in getting his manuscript published.

The Press was excluded from the court, and Djilas in consequence refused to answer questions put to him, claiming that there could not be any justice in a trial of this kind. This, of course, is true, although justice has no more to do with such a trial than it had to do with the Stalin purge trials of 20 years ago. Fortunately the Tito régime in the Courts of Yugoslavia has not the same character of unqualified evil as had that of Stalin in Russia, and the state revenge has stopped short of the death penalty.

Djilas was sentenced a few years back to 18 months imprisonment for having sought, with Dedijer, to establish the right of free political organisation. His sentence then, however, was held in suspense. Last December he was sentenced to three years imprisonment for an article written after the Russian enforcement of the Kadar régime upon Hungary. He contrived to get the manuscript of his book out of the country. With the present sentence of seven years he has now a little over nine years to serve.

We put on record our admiration for such a man.

Our Supplement

"THE Bridge Over the River Kwai" shares with other war films and war stories a capacity for displaying the madness and the cruelty of war.

We do not publish our supplement, however, because we regard "The Bridge" as an "anti-war" film.

Despite the fact that it shows men engaged in bitter inhumanities without greatly concerning themselves as to the ends to which these inhumanities are directed, and despite also the fact that it shows in its description of the development of Commando operations the ready acceptance of the need to transform sensitive youngsters into heartless thugs, we do not know whether it can be described as an anti-war film.

In any case, the "anti-war" story, as such, contributes nothing to the solution of the problem of war, nothing to our understanding of the means to peace. In deepening our abhorrence of the fact of war it merely generates emotions that can in due course be transformed into hatred of an enemy as having made this abhorred thing necessary.

We commend "The Bridge Over the River Kwai" to our readers then, not as an anti-war film, but as a work of art. It takes the facts of war and shows men caught up in it seeking whatever means are to hand to hold on to their pride in conditions of degradation. The British Colonel finds his means in his desperate adherence to the piece of class differentiation that has been embodied in a Geneva Convention and marks off the officer from the man even in captivity. The Japanese Colonel finds his justification in his acceptance of the severe Japanese military code of "Bushido."

In the enacting of the two colonels by Sessue Hayakawa and Alec Guinness we get two very fine character studies; Alec Guinness in a part so different from those in which we have become used to seeing him.

"The Bridge Over the River Kwai" is genuine tragedy, showing the waste in the madness of war of the sufferings and labours of men capable of greatness if their qualities were not befooled by the uses to which they are put.

THE BRIDGE ON THE RIVER KWAI

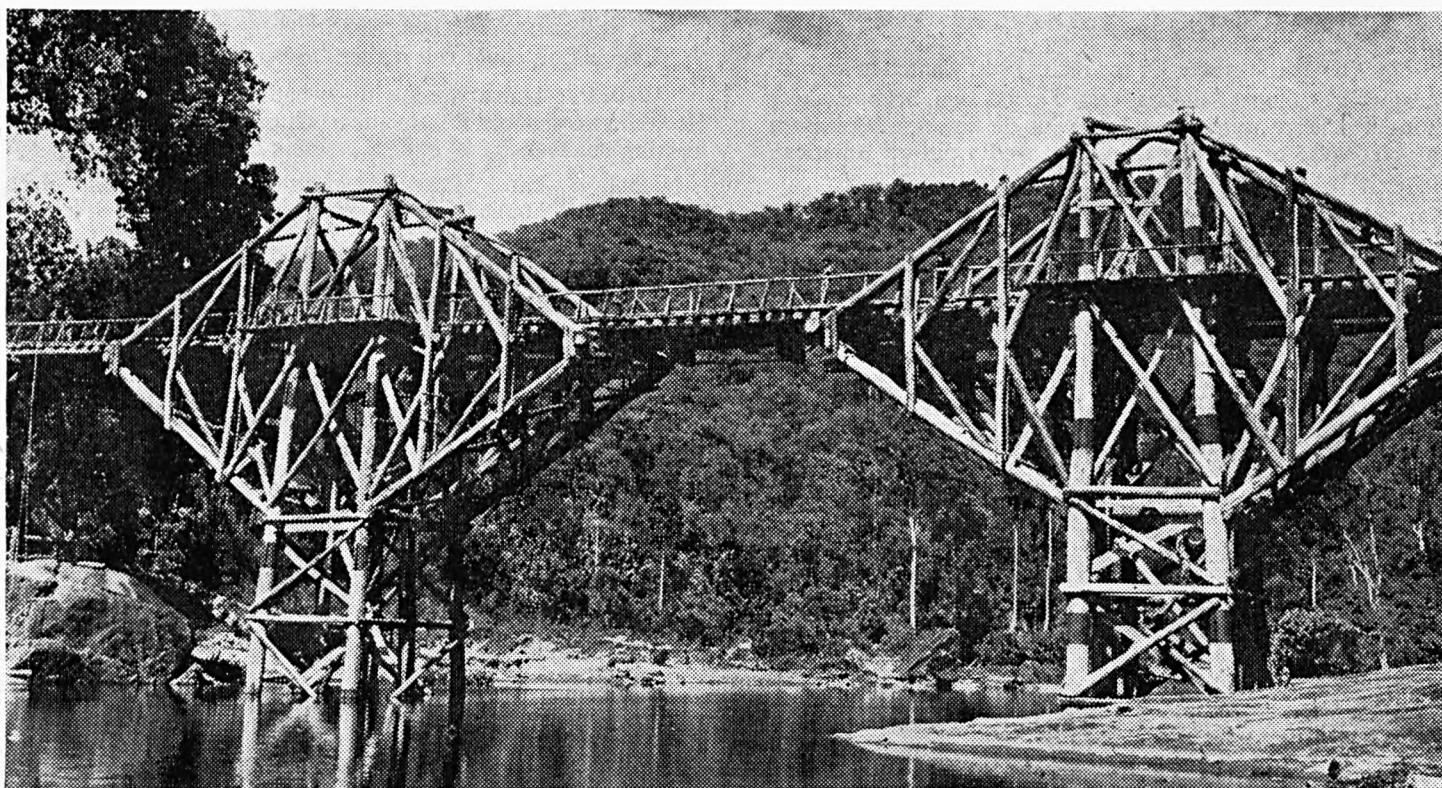
The story of the film by CLAUDE HOUGHTON, based on the screenplay written by PIERRE BOULLE, from his novel of the same title.

This is the story of a bridge built by British prisoners of war, in the Siamese jungle, for the Japanese.

The story is concerned with a conflict of wills between the Commanding Officer of the British troops and the Commanding Officer of the Japanese forces. A conflict with an astounding, far-reaching culmination.

It reveals the desperate actions of desperate men in desperate circumstances.

It shows how, after many vicissitudes, the bridge is built—and the ironical fate reserved for it.



Under a cobalt-blue sky, a great white bird, with lustrous wings outspread, soared rhythmically high above the Siamese jungle, like a symbol of peace and serenity.

Seen from above, this almost impenetrable jungle is broken by two parallel threads of silver, flashing in merciless sunlight.

This is a jungle where black monsoon clouds suddenly black-out the sky: where vultures circle overhead: where a passage can be hacked through bamboo only with machetes: where tropical rain sounds like a million tom-toms, creating fetid mud chest-deep: where flying foxes hang upside down, asleep: where at a sudden sound they whirl and wheel, shrieking, in the air with hosts of bats.

The Siamese jungle. More alien than any nightmare.

..... A train came into view along the silver flashing lines. The interlacing branches of overhanging trees made the train seem to be emerging from a green oval tunnel. A small ancient engine—three or four cattle cars—and a guard's van. The open cars were crammed with men in khaki. A Japanese soldier, with a machine gun, sat on the roof of the guard's van. There were wounded among the British soldiers who stared in silence at the impenetrable jungle. Siamese peasants laboriously hacked a clearing near the railway.

The train ground to a standstill. The soldiers were herded into a ragged column by gesticulating Japanese troops. The column, flanked by guards, slogged through the mud in tropical rain. Freshly-turned earth indicated that this was the roadbed of an unfinished railway. The column vanished into dense jungle, emerging eventually into a jungle swamp—thence reaching a thick-wooded valley through which ran a swift river with many rapids.

Colonel Nicholson, D.S.O., commanding the British troops, headed the column, slightly ahead of the Japanese officer—almost creating the delusion that he was in command.

Although Nicholson was sweating, unshaved, scratched, and ragged, anyone in the least perceptive would recognise the type to which he belonged—the finest kind of Indian Army Colonel. The whole life was in the face. The disciplined features; the steadfast expression of the blue eyes; were convincing testimony to a series of inner victories over a man's most implacable enemy—himself. It is the reason why Nicholson was qualified to command.

Finally, a desolate hollow of sunbaked shale came into view. In this barren bowl stood a newly-erected prison camp. Colonel Nicholson, his officers, and men stared silently at their new home, starkly stretched below them. Four rectangular huts made of thatch and bamboo and, across the parade ground, in isolated insolent contrast, was the bungalow of Colonel Saito, the officer commanding the Japanese troops.

Several wounded stood near the Medical Officer—Clifton—staring at the camp cemetery, a small field with numerous mounds and markers.

Two figures in the graveyard were prisoners—survivors of former prisoners of war who had worked in the camp. One was a scrawny Australian—Weaver. The other, Shears, an American. Shears was making a cross with a length of cord. A Japanese officer—Kanematsu—said to him:

"Finish work. Speedo. Go hut."

Shears rose, holding the bamboo cross. He was filthy. Wearing only a loin cloth—skin blotched with jungle sores—

and a self-made conical straw hat. Weaver was even more grotesque. He patted earth on the grave.

Shears said to Kanematsu:

“Put us on sick list.”

“You never sick. You funny man, Shears.”

Shears produced a cigarette lighter—said the man they had just buried gave it to him. He offered it to Kanematsu, who looked round, then took and quickly hid it.

“O.K. You go sick. Both.”

He hurried away.

Weaver said:

“One day, Shears, Saito is going to catch you bribing Kanematsu. Then there could be two more mounds here.”

“We'll be far away before then, chum. We'll take a chance in the jungle. It's a certainty here.” He stabbed the bamboo cross in the earth at the head of the grave. Then he said: “Here lies Corporal Herbert Thompson. Serial number: 0.1234567. Valiant member of the Queen's Own—or the King's Own—or something—who died of beri-beri in the year of our Lord, 1943, for the greater glory of” He broke off, then said, “What did he die for, Weaver?”

“No need to mock the grave.”

“I don't mock the grave. Or the man. I just wanted to know.”

Meanwhile, Colonel Saito was seated at a desk in his bungalow, painting a delicate water-colour of a jungle flower. A pleasant room: Japanese prints: silk hangings: and a pin-up American beauty—‘Miss January’.

Kanematsu entered, saluted, then said in Japanese: “The prisoners are arriving, sir.”

Colonel Saito went to the window and became dramatically aware that the prisoners were indeed arriving. Led by Colonel Nicholson, whistling “Colonel Bogey”, they marched four abreast with the punctilious perfection of the Guards on parade.

Saito's eyes scanned the lines of marching men, then focused on—Colonel Nicholson—who gave staccato orders until his men stood in rectangular formation with their officers in front.

A final command:—“Stand at Ease!”

Nicholson looked at the bungalow. No sign of Saito.

Outside the hospital Shears and Weaver studied Nicholson, then Weaver said:

“Nicholson doesn't know what he's in for. Are you going to tell him—Commander?”

Shears replied angrily:

“If you breathe *one word* about my rank”

“O.K.! O.K.! You can be Admiral Halsey of the United States Navy for all I care.”

Shears, still intent on the parade ground, suddenly exclaimed:

“Oh-oh! Now it starts”

Saito had left the bungalow and was marching across the parade ground towards Nicholson, who ordered his men to attention.

The two Colonels faced one another. The conflict of wills was about to begin.

Saito addressed the prisoners in a tone as mechanical and as menacing as the rattle of a machine gun.

“You British prisoners have been chosen to build a bridge across the river Kwai.”

He added:

“There is no barbed wire. No stockade. No watch tower. They are not necessary. We are an island in the jungle. Escape is impossible. You would die.”

He went on:

“It will be pleasant work requiring skill, and officers will work as well as men. Today you rest. You parade at dawn tomorrow. Dismissed!”

The men did not move until Nicholson gave the order, then they started to break up.

Nicholson said to his officer, Hughes: “Get the men to their quarters” and he added to his Medical Major—Clifton: “See to your sick and disabled. I'm going to have a word with this fellow.” He turned and called to the retreating Saito: “Colonel!”

Nicholson joined him.

“You may have overlooked, sir, that the use of officer personnel for manual labour is expressly forbidden by the Geneva Convention.”

“Is that so?”

“I have a copy of the Convention with me and I'd be happy to let you glance”

“That will not be necessary.”

He turned abruptly and walked away. Nicholson looked after him, puzzled.

Then Nicholson examined the men's quarters. Roofs were leaking—puddles forming. Soon the floors would be mud.

In the hospital Nicholson met Shears of the United States Navy—and learned that he and Weaver were the only survivors of the prisoners who built the camp. Nicholson was amazed to find an American prisoner, but Shears explained: “Our ship, the *Houston*, sank. I made it ashore.” Then Nicholson asked: “But what happened to the group of prisoners here?” Shears replied:

“They died.” Pause. “They died—of malaria, dysentery, beri-beri, gangrene. Other causes of death: famine, overwork, bullet-wounds, snake-bite, Saito.” Shears added: “And some—just got tired of living.”

“We must do something for you.”

“I'm O.K., Colonel. I'm not wanting to get off the sick list.” He pointed to his grotesque clothes. “This is working kit.”

“The officers in your party did manual labour?”

“I think you could call it that.”

“Well, I've had a word with—what's his name?—Say Toe. He seems reasonable. Remember, Clifton, we have an officers' meeting at seven.”

Nicholson went. Shears looked after him with an odd smile, while Clifton applied salve to his jungle sores.

“You seem amused, Shears.”

“Saito—reasonable. That's a new one.”

“Perhaps Colonel Nicholson defines the word differently.”

“Maybe he will—soon.”

Clifton studied Shears' sores with professional interest, then said: “How on earth did you manage to stay alive?”

Shears replied with a deadpan expression:

“How? By lying. Stealing. Bribing. Begging.”

At seven o'clock the officers' meeting took place. Shears was present in a somewhat better kit. A young officer, Jennings, asked Nicholson about an Escape Committee.

“I've had a talk, sir, with Commander Shears, and”

“There will be no Escape Committee, Jennings. Into this jungle? There'd be a hundred to one chance of survival. I'm sure Commander Shears would agree.”

“The odds against survival in this camp are even worse. You've seen the graveyard, Colonel. To stop *thinking* of escape, would be to accept a death sentence.”

Nicholson asked briskly:

“Then why haven't you tried to escape, Commander?”

“Shears replied casually: “I've been waiting for the right time—and the right company.”

“Well, understand this,” Nicholson said emphatically. “In Singapore we were ordered to surrender by the Army Council. *Ordered*—mind you. So, in our case, escape might be an infraction of military law. Let us drop the subject of escape.”

At dawn the next day, the prisoners were on the parade ground. Their working tools had been issued. The officers were in a group, talking. They carried no working tools.

Saito, in battle dress, accompanied by three officers—Kanematsu, Neguchi, and Miura, the engineer officer, also in battle kit—came down the bungalow steps, then approached the prisoners drawn up in formation. Nicholson stood apart from his officers, tapping his leg with a swagger stick, as he paced near a table with step ladder.

As Saito approached, Nicholson called his men to attention. Saito mounted the step ladder.

“English prisoners! I do not say English *soldiers*. When you surrendered, you ceased to be soldiers. As soldiers, you knew pride. As captives, you now learn shame.”

Pause.

“You will finish the bridge across the river Kwai by the twelfth day of May. You will work under the direction of a Japanese engineer—Lieutenant Miura. Your officers will work beside you. Officer prisoners, collect your tools.”

An officer, Barclay, stepped out of formation.

Nicholson, sharply: “Stay where you are, Barclay.”

Saito descended from the table. His eyes never left Nicholson's.

A head-on collision was imminent.

Nicholson said: "I must call your attention to Article 27 of the"

"Give me that book."

Nicholson handed him the book.

Saito struck Nicholson with the book's hard binding—with tremendous force—across the bridge of the nose, causing a stream of blood. Nicholson sensed a movement in the troops behind him.

"Back into ranks! You're still at attention!"

Saito shouted:

"You speak to me of codes! What code? The coward's code?" He threw the book away. "What do you know of the soldier's code? Of Bushido? Nothing. You are unworthy to command."

Nicholson, speaking with measured calm: "Since you refuse to abide by the laws of the rest of the civilized world, we consider ourselves absolved from our duty to obey you. My officers will not do manual labour."

"We shall see."

The troops went by the road leading out of the camp—Miura followed them.

Shears and Clifton watched the scene on the parade ground.

Saito said to Nicholson: "You will be reasonable. You will order your officers to work."

"No."

The tail-gate of a nearby truck clattered down, unmasking a machine gun with two soldiers behind it. Saito and his officers were outside the line of fire.

Saito said to Nicholson: "Go back to your officers. I shall count three. If you and your officers are not then on the way to work, I shall give the order to fire."

The officers glanced at Nicholson. He was entirely unmoved. Saito rapped out: "One!"

Shears seized Clifton's arm. "He's going to do it!"

Saito shouted: "Two!"

Clifton raced across the parade ground, yelling: "Wait, Colonel Saito!"

The guards seized him but he shouted:

"I warn you! I've seen and heard everything—so has every man in hospital. You won't get away with calling this a mass escape! Too many witnesses."

A guard struck him, but Clifton shouted in a tone icy with scorn:

"Is THIS your soldier's code? Murdering unarmed men!"

Silence.

Saito looked round—unable to imagine what to do. He had lost the first round in the conflict of wills. Eventually, he turned, then, to the astonishment of the guards, strode towards the bungalow.

At the hospital Shears said to Weaver and Jennings: "He's done it!"

Weaver said: "The old man's sure got guts."

Shears: "Into the valley of death."

Jennings asked: "What's that, sir?"

Shears: "THAT kind of guts. The kind your young officers had in the 1914 war when they went over the top, armed with swagger sticks. Nicholson's kind of guts will get us all killed."

At sunset a straggling column of prisoners returned from work. The officers were still in position. One was stretched out on the parade ground. The others were near collapse.

Kanematsu hurried down the bungalow steps, then said to Nicholson: "Colonel Saito say All officers to punishment hut. Not you, please. Tell officers to follow guards, please."

Nicholson motioned with his hand. Guards picked up the prostrate officer. Two guards moved behind Nicholson and told him to go to the bungalow, while the officers filed into a barbed wire enclosure, hardly big enough to hold them.

Two husky guards picked up clubs beside the bungalow doorway, then followed Nicholson in. The door closed. From the prisoners' huts came the sound of booing and shouting. Soon, a sea of yelling men waving arms and shaking fists surrounded Saito's bungalow. Guards rushed to and fro.

Outside the hospital hut, Shears and Jennings stood, watching the scene. Weaver came in.

Shears asked: "How's the hope chest?" Weaver replied: "I've got the knives." Then Jennings said to Shears: "I'd like to go along, sir. My arm's healed. We must escape. The Colonel didn't order us not to." Shears laughed: "When a guy like old Nick suggests we shouldn't escape—that's an order"

Shears broke off. Nicholson was being helped down the bungalow steps by guards who supported him as he made a zig-zag course across the parade ground.

Shears exclaimed: "They're going to put him in the oven!"

The "oven" cell was not high enough for a man to stand erect in—or long enough to lie prone. Guards opened the doors, then shoved Nicholson inside. He collapsed on the mud floor. The door was slammed—and bolted. From the distance voices were heard singing: "For he's a jolly good fellow."

Nicholson began to fight yet another secret battle with himself: Will versus Exhaustion.

That night Major Clifton made an inspection of the Medical ward. A medical orderly held a storm lantern aloft. Clifton paused, then asked: "Where's Lieutenant Jennings—and Commander Shears?" The orderly replied: "They were here a few minutes ago, sir."

A shot shattered the silence. Clifton looked sharply whence it came.

Jennings and Weaver were running desperately through the brush. Two more shots. Weaver spun, then fell. Jennings stopped—went back—then, seeing that Weaver was dead, began to run. Straight into a Japanese guard. A burst of sub-machine gunfire and Jennings crumpled.

The guard looked down at the man he had killed. Suddenly, a hand closed over his mouth—and a knife was buried in his chest. As the body sagged, Shears was revealed. He pulled the knife free—then ran—two guards following him.

The guards stopped in their tracks. A running figure was silhouetted on a cliff overlooking the river. The guards fired. The figure disappeared. A splash was faintly heard.

The river flowed less swiftly where the figure disappeared. Frogs and insects began their nightly thrumming. A dark blob could have been seen approaching the bank. Shears crawled up the bank—crept to the shelter of the brush—then collapsed.

The next day, two prisoners were felling an enormous tree near the site of the bridge. It began to topple, then fell with a long-echoing crash into the river, throwing jagged cascades of foamy water into the air. The prisoners were nearly naked. Two guards stood near them.

On the opposite bank, a gang of prisoners were laying ties and rails. A completed railroad had almost reached the river, so this was the site of the bridge. A huge trunk was being ferried across the river. On the far bank was a crude pile driver. Four piles were already in position—five men in the river were clinging to a fifth. In a punt, the Japanese engineer officer, Lieutenant Miura, directed operations.

Along a section of the completed track, a railway hand car appeared. A prisoner operated the pump-like mechanism. In the front of the car, under a sunshade held by a Japanese soldier, sat Colonel Saito.

Suddenly the hand car received a sharp jolt. Then a bigger and louder jolt. Saito's chair bounced. The rails had been laid with an ever-increasing distance between them. A series of violent jolts followed in quick succession.

Saito shouted furiously to two nearby prisoners: "Where is Lieutenant Miura?"

"Near the piles," one replied.

Strange things were happening to the piles. The men in the water clinging to the log added to its weight. Saito surveyed the scene from a bank overlooking the river.

Miura shouted: "Pull!"

Unobserved by him, the two teams had worked themselves into a tug of war.

"Pull!"

Then, at last realizing what was happening:

"Stop!"

The men abandoned the ropes. The tree trunk reeled over. Miura, and the other occupants of the punt, leapt into the water.

"Help!"

One prisoner shouted to another: "He can't swim."

"No?"

The prisoners who had been ferrying the log across the river abandoned it and swam towards Miura.

Nearly a hundred prisoners leapt into the river.

Saito was ash-white with fury.

Five prisoners propelled Miura towards the bank, often allowing their burden to sink before rescuing him, then going on again. At last Miura reached shallow water just as Saito arrived on the bank. Nearly a hundred naked men escorted

Miura to his Colonel, then a British sergeant shouted: "Company! . . . shun!"

The men, many of them waist-deep in the water, came to attention. Miura saluted and, almost immediately, received a resounding slap from Saito. The men remained at attention until Saito strode away.

He went into his bungalow, then stood by the window irresolute, nerveless. He stared at the "oven"—in the torrid heat of noonday.

The will of that man in the "oven" had attracted collaborators. His men were sabotaging the construction of the bridge—the bridge which must be finished by the twelfth day of May—the bridge which would never be finished by men treated as slaves.

Saito knew this and hidden behind his oriental features—which, normally, were static as a mask—was paralyzing fear.

The door opened and Major Clifton came in, saluted, then remained at attention.

Saito asked: "You wish to see me?"

"I've been trying for three days. It's about Colonel Nicholson."

"I could have you shot. Three prisoners tried to escape. Two were shot. The other shot and drowned."

"I know nothing about the escape."

"It does not matter. I respect those three men. For brief moments, between escape and death, they ceased to be slaves and became—soldiers!"

He crossed to a model of the bridge. There were red and green markers attached to the piles. Saito pointed to the green markers.

"That shows the position work should have reached today." He indicated the red markers. "This shows the actual progress—four piles, where there should be seven. This is your Colonel's stubbornness. The prisoners sabotage the work. I could have them all shot."

Clifton asked casually:

"Then who would build your bridge?"

Saito looked at him with such fury that Clifton added:

"Are you sure it's sabotage? Perhaps the men won't work without their officers."

"My officers will direct them! Your officers will work with them!"

"That's for Colonel Nicholson to decide."

"He is mad your Colonel. Quite mad Sit down, please."

"Thank you."

"You will give him this message: if his officers do not work, I shall close the hospital and your patients will work in their place. Many will die—and he will be responsible."

Clifton stared at him incredulously.

"Go and speak to him. You have five minutes."

A few minutes later, carrying a billycan of water and a bundle wrapped in a cloth, Clifton passed through the barbed wire enclosure. The guard opened the "oven".

Clifton bent, then looked in. The interior was almost dark. He could just see Nicholson, half-propped against the wall. The floor resembled that of a dirty kennel. Clifton could not see Nicholson's face. He took a quick swipe at a small cloud of flies, then moved forward on his knees.

"It's Clifton, sir. Clifton."

When Nicholson turned towards the light Clifton saw that a half-inch beard covered much of his ashen, bruised face. A stream of dried blood ran from a wound on his temple. He could hardly open his eyes against the unaccustomed light.

"I've brought you a few things, sir."

He undid the bundle. Nicholson asked, in a voice which was the ghost of his normal one: "How are the men?"

"Fine, sir, fine."

He produced the contents of the bundle.

"We've scraped together a little meat and a coconut."

Nicholson crammed small pieces of meat between his swollen lips, then asked:

"And the officers?"

"In bad shape, sir. Still in detention. Lieutenant Jennings is dead."

Nicholson stopped eating.

"What?"

"Shot—attempting to escape with Commander Shears and Corporal Weaver. They were all killed."

"Poor Jennings. A brave fellow. I warned him, Clifton. I warned him."

"I know you did, sir I'm going to clean you up a little."

He poured water from the billycan on to an old rag and started to bathe the Colonel's face.

"I must tell you a few things, sir. I've been talking to Colonel Saito."

"I never imagined a commanding officer could be like that fellow. I think he's mad."

Clifton told him what Saito had said about using hospital patients if the officers did not work with the men.

"That's blackmail."

"Maybe. But he means it. He daren't lose face."

"It's still blackmail."

"Please listen, sir. You can't stand much more of this. Saito has cut the men's rations. They are going slow on the job. If Saito makes sick men work, most of them will die."

Nicholson stopped eating.

A long silence.

"It is a matter of principle, Clifton. If we give in, there will be no end to it. My answer is—No."

Clifton, almost in tears, managed to say:

"We're in the jungle—a thousand miles from anywhere—under the heel of a man who will stop at nothing. Give in, sir—please."

"I will not have an officer in my battalion working like a coolie."

(To be continued next week)

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Labour and the Colonies

MY friend, Fenner Brockway, welcomes Labour's policy of economic aid for undeveloped territories and rightly asks where the money is to be found. It is true that military expenditure is nine times the proposed expenditure on economic aid and some saving could be made there. If economic expansion is resumed at home, however, there would be a surplus each year of double or treble the amount needed for Labour's programme, depending upon the rate of expansion and providing the right industries were expanding.

A policy of economic aid cannot, however, be considered in isolation. The national economic plans of the receiving countries would have to be submitted and considered, and flight of capital which at present takes place on a substantial scale would need to be minimised. Perhaps the best thing that can be done for poor countries is to arrange trade relationships with them so as to encourage their own production. This is impossible when they come to have unsaleable surpluses and have to suffer from fluctuating world market prices.

The important point about economic aid, taken by itself, is that Britain will have to be prepared to produce the commodities which the undeveloped countries require. This will necessitate planning in Britain.

On the question of SUNFED, the burden of armaments is not the only excuse that is made. In America private capital investment is preferred to "yet another world bureau" and in Britain it has been stated that reduction of taxation and the reinforcement of existing schemes come first.

This is a pity! If Britain sets an example of economic aid and other richer countries of

Letters to the Editor

the world join in, an international economic effort could capture the imagination of mankind and mark a turning-point on the road to peace.—REGINALD MOSS, House of Commons, S.W.1.

Go home! Speidel

THREE things struck me when I read the above words in my newspaper last week. First, how odd that they were in English when written on a Norwegian banner for a German! Then I reflected that so many nations have had the same sentiments since the war towards troops of various nationalities that perhaps the words "Go home" have become international.

Secondly, I wondered how my country that had fought two major wars against Germany in one generation could have allowed a German to become a NATO C-in-C. My mind went back to a displaced persons camp in which I worked in 1944, when a young Pole, reading of a flag that had been smuggled out under the nose of the enemy, said to me: "Excuse, please, who is the enemy?"

Lastly, could anything show more clearly the futility and imbecility of war than the fact that a leading "enemy" could, in a decade, become C-in-C of a force including British and American troops!—EILEEN FLETCHER, 9 Sandfield Terrace, Guildford.

Postage rates

PILLAR-BOXES are now plastered with the details of a further rise in postage rates, and we are told in the House of Commons that this is largely due to wage

demands. It is, of course, due to nothing of the sort, but to the enormous sums we are pouring out on past and future wars. In January, 1940, the centenary of Sir Rowland Hill's introduction of the penny post was to have been observed, in celebration of which the 1½d. charge for letters was to be reduced again to 1d. We know what intervened. The promoters of rearmament habitually distort language: conscription is national service, a bomb is an atomic device. It is tragic that so few people attempt to see through this insidious propaganda.—DOROTHY HAWKIN, 3, Trefusis Terrace, Exmouth, Devon.

Christian pacifism

I AM glad to note the acknowledgement of Esme Wynne-Tyson that the militarisation of the Christian Church "started" in the reign of Constantine.

This, however, is very different from the statement in her first letter on this subject that the early Church Fathers adulterated the pure pacifist teaching of Christ.

By the early Church Fathers is generally understood the distinguished leaders and writers of the Church in the first three centuries and into part of the fourth.

The quotation from Erasmus given by Mrs. Wynne-Tyson on the attitude of the bishops in the fifth century is outside the pale of this discussion. Even now Mrs. Wynne-Tyson maintains that the aforesaid Church Fathers were only expressing their own personally pacifist position and that of a small minority in the Church as Canon Raven and Dr. Soper do today. I could,

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however, fill columns of Peace News with quotations from the writings of those early Church leaders, and unbiased readers could agree that they certainly did not write in that sense, but were expressing the unanimous pacifist judgment of the whole Christian Church of their day.

That is evidenced not only by the language they use but also by the Church Orders in actual operation such as the Testament of the Lord, quoted in my last letter and other Canons of the Church.

The Hippolyte Canons (c.220AD), for example, laid down this rule: "A man who has accepted the power of killing, or a soldier may never be received at all."

The Egyptian Church Orders (300-325AD) Rule 11, article XI read, and a catechumen or believer if they wish to be a soldier shall be rejected, because it is far from God."

These Church orders and canons were not the private opinions of a few exceptional pacifist Christians; they were the rule and condition of membership enjoined by the whole Christian Church.

No evidence has yet been given that the Christian Church for at least 300 years was anything but a unanimously pacifist Church.

In that fact I rejoice, and thank God, while lamenting with Esme Wynne-Tyson that in the centuries subsequent to Constantine, increasing majorities in the Church degenerated into the terrible evil of militarism.—REV. EDWIN FOLEY, 33 Warrior Sq., Southend-on-Sea.

One for Siberia

SLEEVES were up in Peace News Office. The voluntary packing squad were getting down to a promising pile of orders for our Christmas Cards and Gifts. In fact it might have been the mail order department of a prominent London store—except for the two square feet per man of working space—and the invisible fact that the profit on those handsome writing cases, photographic albums, stationery cabinets, books, Christmas cards and the rest were going straight into work for pacifism.

Someone exclaimed: "Here's one for Siberia!"

We crowded around. Gandhi's Autobiography, an 11s. sample set of Christmas Cards, some Christmas packing materials, Kathleen Lonsdale's "Is Peace Possible"; and a warning note on the order form "Parcels to Siberia take six weeks or more". And this one had to reach a UNESCO Technical Assistance Mission in farthest (it must be Outer) Monrovia! Everything—the satellite Moon, the ICBM, all those stupendous achievements in grimdest Siberia—clicked into place. We had uncovered the deepest and most breathtaking plot in history. What could it all be but a vast UN secret agency to enforce peace, an irresistible Pax Atomica which none dare challenge.

And then we looked again, and the bubble burst. Pacifists are such atrocious writers—and LIBERIA, after all, is an incredibly remote place for us little Englanders. But grateful thanks, Liberia for the very welcome Christmas order—and the laugh.

And how about all you people in London, New York, Johannesburg, Sydney, and Auckland—and particularly you readers all over Great Britain.

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Another Central African Commentary from the one European journalist the Africans trust,
Peace News Correspondent, Basil Delaine

CALLAGHAN ROCKS RHODESIA

POOR OLD JIM! Mr. James Callaghan, MP for Cardiff South and the Labour Party's "shadow" Colonial Secretary, certainly had a rough time in the hands of the Federation's white politicians during his recent tour of Rhodesia and Nyasaland with the British Parliamentary delegation.

The Federal Party slapped him. So did the United Party, not to mention the Dominion Party. And the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, found Jim Callaghan positively irresistible!

There is nothing like a visit from a British Labour man for showing up the European settler in his true colours. The last man to talk sense here was Mr. James Johnson, MP. He won't be forgotten, either, by the Big White Chiefs.

Dominion status

What made the pseudo-partnership boys wild this time was Callaghan's statement to the effect that there will be no independence for the Federation until the Africans, and the other non-Europeans, agree to it.

"Win the people of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland—then think about Dominion status," he told a crowded meeting of the National Affairs Association in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

"Pressure for Dominion status is forcing African leaders to make demands to protect themselves against the day when Dominion status is granted," he warned. "You are asking for the right to govern millions of Africans who are protected by the British Crown."

This, and other sound reasoning, made a certain Mr. John Roberts a very angry man, because Mr. Roberts is the leader of the Federal ("partnership") Party in the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council, and as such is a bit touchy about visiting MPs who show consideration for non-Europeans.

Overstepping

Boomed this Rhodesian politician whom I know to be much more at home on his farm than he is in the Council chamber:

"The visiting party of British MPs did not tour the Federation as a House of Commons grand jury but as members of the British Parliamentary Association.

"It was not therefore their function, in my view, to attempt to pass judgment on constitutional or status issues, but to have a good look around and form views as to the progress of the Federation.

"Instead," said Mr. Roberts, by this time visibly shaking with rage, "these gentlemen have chosen to make determined comments on major issues which are due for discussion with Her Majesty's Government—of whom none of the visitors is a member."

Mr. Roberts said that Mr. James Callaghan, in particular, "stuck his chin out" and put himself in the rôle of a final adjudicator—thereby overstepping the normal functions of a member of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association party.

But all this was soft stuff compared with the wild and woolly rashness of a very emotional Southern Rhodesian.

Leave the Federation

Meet Mr. H. D. Wightwick, United Rhodesian Party MP for the pretty little town of Umtali:

"It must be made abundantly clear to the British Government that Southern Rhodesia will not remain in a Federation where, for the foreseeable future, there is any likelihood of equal representation between black and white or the slightest chance of the European losing control," said the militant Mr. Wightwick.

He said that rather than face this, Southern Rhodesia would break away from the Federation "and stand on our own feet."

"I certainly believe we could do so," opined the confident Mr. Wightwick, "but if in the final event it proved impossible then we should seek a closer association with the Union of South Africa, probably in a federal system south of the Zambezi."

Mr. Wightwick said it would be folly to await the advent of a Labour government in Britain.

"We must press for an immediate settlement of our future," he declared.

"If the Federation is to break up, then the cause of it must be laid fairly and squarely at the doors of the political parties in Britain."

Both Labour and Conservative mean what they say, said Mr. Wightwick. There was little to choose between them. They both openly declared themselves to be the enemies of continued white control of Central Africa.

So ended one white Rhodesian's public denunciation of British politicians.

Another juicy point raised by Mr. Callaghan—this time in an article in the Central African Examiner—was the possibility that the white immigrant's job might, in ten years' time, be done by the African.

Jim Callaghan pointed out that when considering a would-be immigrant, the people of the Federation should ask themselves: "Shall we want him in ten years' time, or will his job then be done by an African?"

To prove just how pertinent that remark of Mr. Callaghan's is I will tell you that I have spent many hours recently in my work as a journalist roaming the industrial sites of Bulawayo.

Here an industrial revolution is taking place, the sum total of which, in a few years' time, will mean that the European school-leaver will no longer be able to get a job on his white skin alone.

The point is that the young African is gradually proving his worth as a semi-skilled or skilled artisan.

Can Africans train?

But even this hopeful advancement of the non-European in industry is being exploited. The European boss who was forced to pay his white worker at least £80 a month is content to pay the black man who is doing the same work £20 or less a month.

As I write a Letters Page controversy is raging in the Rhodesia newspapers as to whether an African is capable of learning to drive a train (at the moment they are not even permitted to work as firemen). The only truthful answer, of course, is that the average urbanised African is capable of learning any manual skill going.

The lengths to which some white men are prepared to go in publicly insulting the African people are displayed today in the white Press.

Believe me, it is a depressing, a degrading sight.

Norwood (renounce H-bomb) Resolution**A reply to Mr. Bevan**

By ELIZABETH FITZGERALD

AT the Labour Party Conference at Brighton Mr. Aneurin Bevan is reported in the Press to have said to the supporters of the Norwood composite resolution:

"I beg you to reconsider the comments you have made, because I agree that those of you who support the Norwood resolution do so with complete sincerity. But I am sure that in your secret hearts you have not thought out the full implications of your motion."

I beg to inform Mr. Bevan that he is in error. The supporters of the Norwood resolution have indeed thought out the full implications to their logical conclusions. They do not impute to Mr. Bevan a similar lack of thought regarding the full implications of his stand-point, but they do say he has omitted to state what they are.

I believe the following to be a broadly correct outline of the implications of the two positions, and I do not see how Mr. Bevan can maintain, as he professes to do, that there is no difference in principle between their respective supporters.

Let us call Mr. Bevan's position "A," and that of the Norwood supporters "B," and follow the probable sequence of events in each case.

The two positions

Taking "A" first: Britain has the H-bomb. America and Russia go to war, Britain coming in on America's side. Russia drops the bomb on American and British bases in these islands. Britain is destroyed.

Now take "B": Britain has not got the bomb, having announced she will have nothing to do with it. America and Russia go to war, Britain remaining neutral. Now two things can happen, either (i) Britain's neutrality is respected, or (ii) she becomes a bone of contention between America and Russia because of her strategic position, when one of three things could happen, either (x) Russia and/or America would drop the bomb on her and she would be destroyed, or (y) Russia or America would occupy her, or (z) Russia or America would occupy her and subsequently the bomb would be dropped on the occupying forces by the Power that had failed to occupy her, and so she would be destroyed.

In "A," therefore, Britain is destroyed.

In "B" (i) Britain is better off than in "A."

In "B" (ii) (x) she is as badly off as in "A" (i.e., destroyed).

In "B" (ii) (y) she is better off than in "A."

In "B" (ii) (z) she is as badly off as in "A" (i.e. destroyed).

Therefore in Mr. Bevan's scheme Britain has only one future, i.e. destruction. Under the Norwood resolution she has four different chances, i.e., two of destruction, and two of something less than destruction.

But, argues Mr. Bevan, his contention is that having the bomb is a deterrent, and that by possessing it Britain will prevent America and Russia from going to war with each other. This is a matter of opinion, and either side in the argument is entitled to believe that its judgment of what is a deterrent is correct.

Peace loving bloc

I think, however, two things will be readily understood. One is that if by possessing the bomb Britain can prevent America and Russia from going to war with each other, presumably the possession of the bomb by other equally well-disposed countries will also contribute towards this deterrent effect! The other is that to stir up a wasps' nest is more likely to provoke retaliation than it would do to pass by quietly, i.e. in the past to be armed to the teeth has not proved a deterrent but a provocation.

Again, Mr. Bevan argues what is only a matter of opinion. "Just consider," he says,

"all the little nations running for shelter here and there, one running to Russia and another to the United States. In that situation, before anything else would happen, the world will have been polarised between the Soviet Union and the United States," adding that the Executive wanted to interpose between these two giants a moderating, modifying, and mitigating diplomacy.

Here, again, I beg to differ. If Britain were to join with other like-minded nations to form a bloc for the pursuit of peace and the settlement of disputes by negotiation, I have no doubt but that the little countries would run to this bloc, and the polarisation which Mr. Bevan fears, and for the prevention

THE WRITER, a musician by profession, is a member of the Management Committee of the Chelsea Constituency Labour Party. During World War II she was Officer in Charge of Transport at the London Red Cross and St. John's Ambulance Headquarters. She is married to the writer, Brian Fitzgerald.

of which he is prepared to pursue outworn imperialistic, militaristic power-policies, would not take place.

There is one chance that could be created out of this, a chance that should be encouraged: if Russia and America saw this peace-loving bloc, threatening no one, and providing an example of the way the modern world should be run, they might see it is to their own interests to follow suit.

(If Mr. Bevan argues that examples produce nothing, as he implies when refuting the Norwood resolution, he contradicts himself when he says that the Executive "thought a decision of this kind [i.e. to suspend tests] would lead other people to follow Britain's example.")

In place of the bomb

Having outlined above the probable course of events which would follow the two alternative proposals, there are three further points made by Mr. Bevan with which I disagree.

Firstly, he is reported to have said "the damnable thing about the bomb was that it was not the kind of weapon one could decide to use or not to use. The decision to use it would never be taken by a Parliament, or even by a Cabinet, but by an individual man, acting on the report of some of his spies." I hereby state emphatically that the bomb is a weapon one can decide to use or not to use. But the decision must be made now. Indeed, the decision should have been made at the Brighton Conference, so that neither a Parliament, nor a Cabinet, nor Mr. Bevan's "individual man, acting on the report of some of his spies," would ever have the power to make the decision to use the bomb.

Secondly, Mr. Bevan said: "What this Conference ought not to do is to decide on demolishing the whole fabric of British international relations without putting anything in its place." As indicated by the foregoing, the Norwood supporters have plenty of sound proposals to put in the place of the outworn part of the fabric of British international relations, much of which they do indeed wish to demolish.

Thirdly, Mr. Bevan says that in order to fulfil our international commitments we must have the bomb. To this I would reply, let there be one Parliament for the whole Commonwealth, and let that Parliament decide whether any international commitment is worth the dropping of even one H-bomb.

Finally, I think Mr. Bevan clinches my argument for me. For he said that the man who made the decision to drop the bomb might fear that the other side was going to drop the bomb. And he made his meaning clear by adding that he was not talking about our bomb, but "the other fellow's bomb."

If the other fellow drops his bomb because he fears we are going to drop ours, it follows that if he knows we have no bomb to drop, he will have no fear, and will not drop his bomb.

"MERDEKA" IN MALAYA

By Reginald Reynolds

OFFICIALLY speaking, there has been no war in Malaya. There has been a ten-year "Emergency," during which we have been repeatedly assured that a mere 5,000 "bandits" or "Reds" have been operating in the jungles.

Somehow this force was fed and sustained, however, by a much larger number of collaborators in the towns and villages. This, we were long assured, was not willing collaboration, but the result of terrorism.

To meet this "Emergency" 15,000 troops and a large number of police and informers were used. The Government had its own methods of terrorism, from the collective punishment of villages to the torture of suspects. Draconian laws made it punishable by death for a woman to take food to her own husband if he was fighting in the jungle.

In spite of a counter terrorism organised at enormous expense and with greatly superior numbers and equipment (so far as the fighting forces on each side were concerned) the "Emergency" dragged on. Stranger still, the official figures showed that, by August 31, 1957, the Government forces had killed 6,398 "Communist terrorists" (as they now decided to call them) and captured 325. Another 1,938 had surrendered. Thus, out of a total force always estimated at 5,000, 8,661 had been accounted for and an unknown number (5,000?) were still at large!

Jungle rebels

If the official figures are to be trusted at all, they can only mean one thing: that, in spite of the most ruthless measures against the armed rebels and their friends, continual recruitment must have maintained their numbers as fast as they were depleted—at least until the offer of independence to Malaya changed the political situation. During those ten years another 5,000 or more must have joined the jungle rebels and the lines of communication for food and other supplies must have been maintained, in spite of the strictest official vigilance and the sternest methods of official reprisal.

The rebels are not, in fact, bandits. Nor is it strictly correct to call them Communists, though a Communist "hard core" is undoubtedly at the centre of resistance. They began with the guerilla army which was formed to fight the Japanese. These men—those who survived—had believed that their efforts would be rewarded by freedom for their country. Instead they saw it re-occupied by the British—who had run away—aided by collaborationists who had lived comfortably under the Occupation. The guerillas were by then skilled veterans, with arms in their hands. They continued their war—this time against the British.

Growth of nationalism

In other circumstances (in spite of "ideological" considerations) the British might have decided earlier to clear out. But the rubber plantations and the tin mines—the rich natural resources of Malaya which had mysteriously become, for the most part, British property—represented the biggest dollar-earning assets in the Empire. On the side of the Government were the Sultans and most of the wealthy Chinese merchants, all of them afraid of a revolution which not only could but quite evidently would have social consequences disastrous to themselves. Whitehall improvised and played for time while the country, caught between two systems of terror, suffered agony.

Gradually the inevitable happened—the growth of a nationalist movement which repudiated terrorism as a method, but demanded freedom for Malaya.

The creation of such a movement was not an easy task. The 2,900,000 Malays had reason to fear the energy and ambition of 2,200,000 Chinese—immigrants over a long period of years. There were also 700,000 Indians and Pakistanis and other

minorities. But a measure of unity was achieved and the British eventually had to face the kind of choice in which British imperialism has often proved to be more realistic than that of other countries. Either they must tie up large forces indefinitely in Malaya, fighting what might prove to be a costly rear-guard action, with no voluntary co-operation except for a few reactionary elements among the people. Or they must come to terms with nationalism, retreat in good order, and hope to leave behind them a "stable government. (The definition of a stable government, by an American admiral, is government under which foreign capital can be safely invested.)

British tactics

There was a change in British tactics. Not a very sudden change, because police and army officers and colonial officials are slow to grasp such ideas. The Government was to "win the hearts of the people." This meant, among other things, concessions, and then more concessions. Ironically enough, the Communist "hard core" made the same decision about the same time. Both sides realised they had been too rough, too dictatorial. But the British won, because they could hand over the existing machinery of government and the Communists could not. Probably the Communists would not even have wished to do anything so drastic, if they had been in a position to choose. They were hampered by loyalty to an ideology. The British had only to think of safeguarding tin and rubber and the old social order.

The solution was a belated triumph of British state-craft. On August 31—the day when those interesting figures were complete—the people of Malaya celebrated MERDEKA—independence. Singapore, as already noted, was excluded from this arrangement. Though this exclusion was devised by British politicians for British purposes, the Malayan nationalists accepted it for reasons of their own. The inclusion of Singapore in the new

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Saturday/Sunday, October 19/20

SOUTHEND: 3 p.m., 10 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Durdonald Drive, Leigh-on-Sea. Speakers: Minnie Pallister, Stewart Morris and Ian Dixon, PPU.

Monday, October 21

GRAVESEND: 8 p.m.; 116 Darnley Road. Discussion, "Breaking through Barriers." Fellowship of Reconciliation.

IPSWICH: 7.15 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Fonnereau Rd. "Attempts at Disarmament." A study of Unilateral Disarmament based on the proposal by Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall and the pamphlet "Unarmed" published by the SPJC.

SOUTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Ordnance Rd. Speaker: George Humphreys "Marxism and Peace." All welcome.

Tuesday, October 22

BRIGHTON: 7.30 p.m. 25 Vernon Terrace, Seven Dials. "One Man's Belief." Speaker: Jacques Sillavant of Mauritius, PPU.

COLCHESTER: 7.30 p.m. Lion Walk Congregational Schoolroom. Film: "Shadow of Hiroshima." Speaker: Harold Steele. Arranged by Colchester Friends Peace Committee and FoR.

EAST SHEEN: 8 p.m. Vernon Hall, Vernon Road. Speaker: J. R. Rann. "South Africa." All welcome. PPU.

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m. 36 Coleridge Rd., Old Trafford. Manchester Central Group Meeting. PPU.

Wednesday, October 23

EXETER: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Magdalen St. Film: "Children of Hiroshima" and "Assignment Children." Admission free. Exeter Peace Movement. Secretary: Alec Lea, Combe Farm, Dunsford.

LONDON, S.E.3: 8 p.m. 141 Woolacombe Rd., Kidbrooke. Speaker: Bill Salthouse "The Genius of Berlioz." Illustrated with gramophone records. Fellowship Party.

Thursday, October 24

LONDON: E.11, 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. Speaker: Dorothy Frith. "Why I Became a Quaker." PPU E.10 and E.11.

BRISTOL: 7.30 p.m. at Horfield Friends Mtg. Ho., (309 Gloucester Rd.). Sarvodaya news and talk by Miss Deirdre Bendit on Theosophy, Fellowship of Friends of Truth.

HAMPSTEAD: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., 120 Heath St., N.W.3. Speaker: Frank Dawtry, Secretary, National Association of Probation Officers. "The Probation System." PPU.

Saturday, October 26

HULL: 3 p.m. at Bond St. Twenty-first Anniversary of the First Peace Centre in Hull. Stuart Morris will speak. Light refreshments and talk of yesterday and tomorrow. Early pioneers specially invited. PPU.

IPSWICH: 3 p.m.; FoR Rededication Service (Leader: Rev. A. G. Erray), 4 p.m. Tea, 5 p.m. PPU Annual General Mtg. Friends Mtg. Ho., Fonnereau Rd., Ipswich.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA: 7.30 p.m.; Avenue Baptist Church, United Nations Film Show. All welcome. Southend Peace Council.

EPSOM: 7.30 p.m.; Methodist Hall (opposite Police Station), Ashlee Road. Films of International Voluntary Service for Peace: (1) Documentary by London University Film Society, "Working Agreement"; (2) "Who is My Neighbour?" John Loveridge, AFC, and C. D. Legon, BA, on "A Tide in the Affairs of Men." Film: "Shadow of Hiroshima." Epsom and District Peace Fellowship. Ailsa Duncan, 55 Culverhay, Ashtead, Surrey.

Sunday, October 27

LEEDS: 3 p.m.; Carlton Hill Mtg. Ho., Woodhouse Lane, Quarterly Area Meeting. PPU Yorkshire Area. Area Secretary: Mrs. C. M. Bulmer, 21 Westfield Cottages, Gildersome, Leeds.

Monday, October 28

LONDON: 7.30 p.m. 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Meeting of hosts, returned travellers and interested enquirers. "Servas" Peace Builders.

Wednesday, October 29

LONDON, S.E.3: 8 p.m. 141 Woolacombe Rd., Kidbrooke. Speaker: Ronald Mallone, BA: "Peace and Writing to the Press." Questions. Discussion. Fellowship Party.

Thursday, October 31

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Group Discussion. PPU E.10 and E.11.

Friday, November 1

GRAVESEND: 8 p.m.; St. George's Chapel of Unity. "Children of Hiroshima." With Rev. Lewis MacLachlan and Rev. Basil Huett. FoR.

HULL: 8.15 p.m. at Bond St. "Pacifism and the People." Speaker: C. Taylor. All welcome. PPU.

LONDON, N.13: 8 p.m. Bowes Park Methodist Church, Bowes Road, N.13. Speaker: Rev. J. Oswald Law. "Practical Points in Peace-Making." Methodist Peace Fellowship.

Saturday, November 2

CROYDON: 4 to 8 p.m. Adult School Hall, Park Lane. The Eleventh Annual Social. Afternoon: stalls, children's tea party. 7-8 p.m. Musical programme, buffet. PPU Surrey Area.

Every week!

SATURDAYS

LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m.; Pier Head Open-air meeting of Liverpool and District Peace Board.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

MONDAYS

SHIPLEY: 7.30 p.m.; PPU, Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

KIDBROOKE: 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music, radio, etc. Fellowship Party.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road, E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

FRIDAYS

BIRMINGHAM: 5 p.m. onwards; Bull Street Meeting House (outside) Peace News Selling.

October 18, 1957—PEACE NEWS—7

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METINGS

FOOD—Protest Meeting to call public attention to the dangers of wrongly-produced, deficiency foods, and the damage they do to human health. Newman Turner (Farmer), Laurence Easterbrook (Agricultural Journalist), Joyce New (Housewife), Brodie Carpenter (Dentist) and a Doctor. Chairman: Donald Wilson (Soil Association). Carlton Hall, Westminster, 7.30, Monday, October 21. 2s. 6d., London Natural Health Society.

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EDITOR'S NOTEBOOK

Used to colour bar

MR. GBEDEMAH, Ghana's Finance Minister, and his private secretary, Bill Sutherland, were refused service at a cafe in Dover, Delaware, USA, last week because of their colour.

By way of amends President Eisenhower invited the Minister to breakfast.

Bill Sutherland will be known to some readers of Peace News as one of the four American pacifists who attempted a bike-ride to Moscow in the early days of the "cold-war" in an effort to spread the idea of non-violent resistance.

He was also, until he went to live in Ghana, a leading member of the New York War Resisters' League, and like many other American pacifists, active in the colour-bar-busting group, CORE.

No doubt Bill Sutherland's experiences with CORE left him completely at ease when the restaurant manager said to Mr. Gbedemah, "Coloured people are not allowed in here."

Apologies accepted

POLICE horses should no longer breathe down the necks of those at the end of future marches through London! (This column—October 4.)

I have received an officer's assurance that mounted police will, in future, keep a reasonable distance from marchers.

The apology which I have received closes the two incidents which occurred on recent H-bomb marches and, I hope, restores the cordial relations which pacifists have been able to maintain in their contacts with the police.

Their turn to help

THE Independent Church at Knight's Lane, Edmonton, has for more than 20 years been a meeting place for North London pacifists.

The old and dilapidated building, too big for its small congregation, has been sold and a new smaller site obtained—but not the money for a new building.

I'm glad to see that the local Peace Pledge Union Group are rallying round to help the church "that never closed its doors to pacifists."

If there are any readers who recall the famous Sunday morning breakfasts of the war-time years and would like to help towards

King-Hall □ FROM PAGE ONE

Against a nuclear power "conventional forces of any size" are "useless".

"Therefore, we should soon discover that the only conventional force which had any logical purpose would be those needed for internal security and, in our case, overseas police operations."

This would mean a saving of £1,000,000,000 on defence. But it would also mean the possibility of an enemy occupation. For this event—which was possible now even in terms of conventional war—there were no preparations. There were none because "defence thinking was and is in this matter of a thoroughly defeatist character."

Occupation

Occupation should be regarded only as a tactical defeat, not the end of the struggle which "should not be continued by military means which *a priori* have failed, but by moral and political forces."

"But we do not know enough about the techniques of non-violent resistance with or without association with guerrilla warfare, to which I do not attach much importance in the case of the U.K."

Detailed study of past non-violent resistance from the defence angle was needed.

"So that even if we do not adopt a defence policy based on the idea of renouncing the use of nuclear energy for military purposes—a decision which by a kind of chain-reaction in reverse would lead to unilateral disarmament—we ought to give thought of how to defend our way of life against an occupying enemy."

He concluded: "I sometimes dream and even hope that my country, which has made such notable contributions in the past to the totality of modern civilisation may perform the supreme service of giving mankind a lead which will save him from himself."

A first instalment of Commander King-Hall's lecture will appear in Peace News next week. We will also be publishing comments on it by Rear-Admiral Sir Anthony Buzzard.

PUBLIC CONFERENCE on H-bomb Defence
Tuesday, October 22, 7.30 p.m., Hornsey Town Hall

"We decided not to defend the whole country but to defend only our bomber bases."—Mr. Duncan Sandys, Minister of Defence, Canberra, August 20.

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Satellite empire**FROM PAGE ONE**

But there are millions in Asia and Africa who have no responsibility for this situation. They had no part in world affairs when the pattern was being drawn. It was bequeathed to them by Europe, America, Russia; they became and became independent and self-determining partners at last in the world community of nations, after the damage had been done.

This is why India and its neighbours, why the Arab nations of West Asia and North Africa, and why the new nations which are being born in West Africa, stand outside the battle, resisting the bribes offered from one side or the other to involve them in a conflict not of their making. This is why "neutralism" is instinctively accepted by colonial and ex-colonial people.

Their neutrality now places Asian and African countries in a favourable position to serve mankind. Ignored and silenced at the beginning of this century, their voices can speak for all peoples at the turning point of history which has been reached in the second half of the century. Already Asian-African States form the largest group in the United Nations.

I hope to hear their voice ring out in an appeal to the conscience of the world to use the wonders of science co-operatively in making the people of the earth worthy of this new age of limitless expansion.

It is the height of irony that we should begin to think of speeding through space to other planets when we leave millions of our own people diseased and destitute and illiterate.

I hope the voice of the peoples of Nigeria, East and Central Africa and the Caribbean will also be heard. Although their countries have not yet attained independence, the world must take account of them; they are the voices of the future. They have the right to speak for the millions who are emerging to nationhood and to citizenship of the world. They are the youth of the human family whose destiny is now being decided.

HUMAN SERVICE

As I write, the United Nations Assembly is discussing disarmament in the light of Russia's satellite and rocket missiles. I hope, and think it likely, that under the pressure of the significance of man's first invasion of space the Assembly will bring a new urgency to the consideration of disarmament; but one can only be cynical about the preliminaries.

The Times UN correspondent reported on October 10 that the original draft of the Western resolution urged the need for controls on outer space missiles so as to ensure that they be used for exclusively scientific and peaceful purposes. This reference was dropped, however, prior to the launching of Russia's satellite, because (I quote) "the United States feared that it might have the effect of preventing American launches of satellites in the near future".

Then, Russia having got in first, Mr. Cabot Lodge, the US delegate, assured the Assembly when the debate began that America is all in favour of the control of outer-space weapons!

Need we go further to find an explanation of the failure of the prolonged disarmament discussions? They have been conducted not primarily in the interests of peace but in the interests of one or other of the two contending power blocs.

It must be the fervent prayer of all who desire peace that Russia's man-made moon will shock statements of the world into a genuine determination to reach an agreement which will direct the science of this new age to human service rather than human suicide.

The children of London, as they read of

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PEACE NEWS**Christmas Bazaar and Social**

3 p.m. Saturday, Nov. 16, Holborn Hall, Gray's Inn Rd. W.C.1

The annual get-together for London and Home Counties readers and their families and friends. Readers everywhere, please send your gifts for sale to help Peace News. Needlework, knitting, arts and crafts, preserves, fruit, vege-

tables, foodstuffs, sweets, books, fancy goods and gifts, anything useful, white elephants and white mice, gratefully welcomed. Collection arranged where possible in London area.

PEACE NEWS, 3 BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON, N.4

By Sybil Morrison

'THE GREAT RESPONSE'

Veterans of four wars met the Queen and Prince Philip this morning after a wreath-laying ceremony at Canada's war memorial. . . . It is a massive stone structure supporting a life-size group in bronze of First World War soldiers and nurses dragging a field gun inscribed: "The Great Response". The band of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police played the National Anthem, and "Oh, Canada", trumpeters sounded the Last Post and the gathering stood with bowed heads for one minute's silence.

—Daily Telegraph. October 14, 1957

RECENTLY there have been a number of public criticisms of the British Monarch and her advisers, but among the various points made against the "upper-set" environment which surrounds the Queen, none is ever levelled at the military "pomp and glory" which accompanies every ceremonial move.

It is, of course, not confined alone to the monarchy, but to all leaders of nations, that the first, and apparently the most important ceremony to be undertaken when visiting a foreign country, or even a provincial city, is the ceremony of the War Memorial.

There is always the propping up against the bronze or stone memorial of a wreath of such dimensions that it may need at least two people to lift it; there is the playing of the National Anthem, the stirring notes of the Last Post, and after that, the Silence.

By all means let us remember those who have been killed in wars, many of them brave and loyal to their own idea of patriotism, many of them conscripted and compelled, all of them victims of a tradition that has now brought the human race to the edge of the most appalling abyss it has ever confronted.

The greatness and the glory of a rich and lovely country like Canada has been praised by the Queen in her speeches, and will be praised again, but through it all runs that "thin red line", denoting Britain's belief that military prowess is synonymous with greatness and glory.

The wreath-laying is never the last ceremony; it is always the first, and it sets the tone for the rest of the programme. With lowered heads, for a moment in time, we will remember the dead in two world wars; after that let us see to it that the streets through which the Queen drives, are lined with soldiers, and that military bands play appropriate tunes.

It is the same in this country, no ceremonies, not even the joyful ones of weddings, or the solemn ones of funerals in the Royal Family are ever divorced from the trappings of war. The nations may mourn for their dead, but on all occasions of public remembrance they perpetuate the means through which more war memorials must in time be erected.

The obsolete gun on Canada's national

the satellite moon circling the earth, excitedly anticipate journeys into outer-space and to the old moon whose face has fascinated them from earliest years. I have no doubt that the children of New York and Moscow, Delhi and Lagos, Tokyo and Buenos Aires discuss the prospect of exploring the universe with the same eagerness.

If instead of realising the hopes of the children of the world, the conquest of space were made the occasion for the destruction of man, this would be the final betrayal. It would bring to nought, on this planet at least, all the age-long story of the evolution of creative life.

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war memorial is matched today by the obsolete soldiers, sailors and airmen who line the streets through which the Queen and her consort will pass; the press-button age is with us, but the symbols of war as it once was fought remain to deceive and confuse.

The cheers might well be silenced if a model of the monstrous mushroom, which depicts to mankind the bursting of the H-bomb, were to be part of the procession.

It may once have been glorious to answer the call to fire a gun, to man a tank, or pilot a bomber, but there is nothing glorious in pressing a switch which will, by that one movement, slaughter tens of thousands of innocent and helpless men, women and children, reduce to rubble the beauties of centuries of art and architecture, and contaminate the earth so that even the rising sap will never bring life again.

There is no glory there; if war memorials are to be visited by reigning monarchs, presidents or prime ministers, it should be in a spirit of repentance and renunciation only; in grief for the bitter waste of life; in sorrow for the wrong done to humanity; in renunciation for ever of the crime of war.

This would indeed be "the great response" to good which could save the world from the ultimate disaster of race suicide.

Merdeka in Malaya**FROM PAGE SIX**

State would have upset the delicate balance whereby the Malayans maintained a majority control; for the population of Singapore is predominantly Chinese. That, of course, was no reason why Singapore should remain a colony; and that aspect of the arrangement has indefinitely blocked the possibility of some future re-union, though it is geographically and economically absurd that the separation should long continue.

But the British, before handing over power, did more than that to safeguard their position. In the long struggle in India they had used the Indian Rajahs till the post-war avalanche swept away these hated princes with the British power which used and supported them. Only a few remained as figureheads, tolerated for various reasons by nationalist India. In Malaya the new nationalist leaders were more amenable. They had been offered what they wanted almost by a miracle—it was so sudden. And if the British made terms, why look their gift horse in the mouth? They needed the British now to help them fight the Communist-inspired rebels of the jungle, most of whom obstinately continued their struggle, perhaps from force of habit. If the British wanted to entrench the Sultans firmly in the new constitution, why argue about it?

You couldn't fight the British and your own feudalists and the Communists and rebels all at the same time. Malaya chose British friendship on British terms. In my last article I shall try to give some impressions of how this is working out in practice.

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"

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